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ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—The supporters of the Jamaica Committee are organizing subscriptions in Edinburgh and other important places. A letter in the *Star* of the 8th ultimo, addressed to Mr. Duncan McLaren, M.P., by Mr. James Douglas, of Cavers, near Hawick, a representative of one of the oldest families in Scotland, indicates that the sentiments of the more thoughtful portion of the community are in favour of the Jamaica Committee.

A meeting was held in Leeds on the 9th ultimo, to congratulate Mr. Thomas Harvey on the result of his mission to Jamaica. Mr. W. E. Forster, M.P., Mr. C. S. Roundell, and Mr. Harvey addressed the meeting.

On the 14th ultimo, Mr. John Gorrie, one of the counsel sent out to Jamaica by the "Jamaica Committee," delivered a lecture in the Surrey Chapel, on late events in that island. In the course of his lecture, Mr. Gorrie intimated that Lord Carnarvon was appointing gentlemen from the three bars of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to act as stipendiary magistrates. The audience was very large, and listened with great attention to the narrative by the lecturer, and testified its approval by rounds of applause. The Rev. Newman Hall was in the chair, and expressed a hope that the lecture would be repeated in every district of London.

On the 15th ultimo, Mr. William Brewin, one of the deputation sent by the Society of Friends to Jamaica, delivered a very interesting lecture at the Friends' Institute, Bishopgate Street, on the results of his late

mission in conjunction with Mr. Thomas Harvey. The subjects treated by Mr. Brewin were the condition of the people in connection with education and religious instruction, and the administration of the island laws; also cultivation, more especially with reference to sugar; and he explained the process of rendering the cane juice into sugar by Mr. Fryer's patent concretor.

Lieutenant Brand has admitted the authorship of the letters he addressed to Mr. Charles Buxton, M.P., and has been recalled from his post. It is said that the authorities do not intend to try him by court-martial, and that he will be allowed to retire from active service on a pension of 125*l.* a year.

At a Reform banquet and public meeting held in St. George's Hall, Bradford, on the 17th ultimo, ex-Professor Goldwin Smith addressed the audience, and in the course of his speech said he strongly appealed "for support for the effort which the Jamaica Committee are making to maintain public liberty and justice, and to prevent the introduction of military terrorism under the name of martial law.

An application was made to Baron Bramwell, in chambers, on the 19th ultimo, by Mr. Rose, solicitor for ex-Governor Eyre, that all further proceedings in the civil actions brought by Mr. Phillips and Dr. Bruce, against Mr. Eyre for illegal imprisonment and assault, might be stayed until the plaintiffs had given security for costs. Mr. Baron Bramwell decided that the request made to him by Mr. Eyre's solicitor was premature and could not be complied with.

Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe have sent a

letter to the daily papers denying that the "Eyre prosecution has commenced," as advertised by the "Eyre Defence Committee," and stating that the Jamaica Committee have nothing whatever to do with the civil actions brought against Mr. Eyre.

In the Court of Queen's Bench, on the 22nd ultimo, Mr. Justice Blackburn addressed the grand jury for Middlesex. In doing so he alluded to the probability of an indictment being preferred against ex-Governor Eyre, and urged that no gentleman who had subscribed either to the defence or the prosecution fund should take part in the proceedings, whereupon a gentleman, whose firm had subscribed to the "Defence Fund," retired.

A. W. Bennett has published "A Narrative of a Tour through the Island of Jamaica in 1866," by Messrs. Thomas Harvey and William Brewin.

No. VI. of the series of "Jamaica Papers" will shortly be published. It will consist of an analysis of the facts disclosed in the evidence before the Royal Commissioners, and will be from the pen of Mr. John Gorrie, late counsel for the Jamaica Committee in Kingston.

BRAZIL.—The Emperor of Brazil has liberated a number of slaves who were regarded as public property, by paying the Treasury for them; and many of them have entered the army, and been sent to the frontiers of Paraguay. It is said that this action of the Emperor greatly encourages those Brazilians who desire the abolition of Slavery in their country, it being regarded as a first step in that direction.

FRANCE.—The preliminary arrangements for the Anti-Slavery Conference to be held in Paris, in June next, are in progress. The French Committee have received a considerable number of letters of adhesion, and it is expected that the attendance will be very large.

PORTUGAL.—On the 22nd ult., the Portuguese Cortes were opened by the King, who, in his inaugural address, announced that one of the subjects which would immediately occupy the attention of the government, was a measure for promoting the prompt extinction of Slavery in the Portuguese possessions.

SPAIN.—In the manifesto published by Marshal Narvaez, in reply to the protest of certain deputies against the closing of the Cortes, the Marshal refers to the question of emancipation as one which has been got up as a sort of cry to add to the perplexities of the political situation.

The Colonial Reform Commission is still in session. Intelligence had been received from Porto Rico, to the effect that the

protest of the Porto Rican Delegates, and their demand for the immediate emancipation of the slaves, had occasioned great excitement, and been enthusiastically applauded. In Cuba the news had also created a great sensation, and the heads of the Liberal party had declared their approval. The Council of the "Society of the Friends of the Country" has conferred the title of honorary membership upon the Cuban delegates to Madrid, who have sustained the protest of the Porto Ricans. The plan of abolition which the latter have been engaged upon is nearly completed.

UNITED STATES.—*Congressional.*—The President having vetoed the District of Columbia Suffrage Bill, both Houses of Congress have passed it over his head by the requisite three-fourths majority.

The Judiciary Committee have been authorized to investigate the charges brought against the President by the Hon. Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, upon which he has founded his resolution for the impeachment of the President.

Under the XIIIth Amendment to the Constitution, construed to legalize Slavery in the recent judicial slave sales in Maryland, Congress has passed an Act declaring, in effect, that any judge rash enough to sell his fellow-citizen, shall be punished to the limit of two years imprisonment, or 10,000 dollars fine. The Act does not construe the amendment, but simply enforces the intent of its framers. The consistency of the Civil Rights Bill with the Constitution is thus reasserted. Seven Democrats, three of whom are from New York, voted in favour of the Act, which passed by 116 Yeas to 24 Nays.

Miscellaneous.—John S. Rock, a coloured lawyer, not long since admitted, on the motion of Mr. Sumner, to the bar of the United-States Supreme Court, has died, at his home in Boston, of consumption. He was a well-educated man, and a good speaker and writer; and, when his health failed, he relinquished a large and growing practice.

Petitions in favour of the impeachment of the President are being extensively circulated throughout various States, and are being numerously signed.

Gentlemen direct from military headquarters at Charleston and Raleigh, North Carolina, state that in all country towns the whipping of negroes is being carried on extensively. The motive is to guard against their voting in the future there being a law in North Carolina depriving those publicly whipped of the right to vote. The practice was being carried on upon such a scale at Raleigh that crowds gathered every day at the Court House to see the negroes whipped. Besides, the

sale of freedmen for slight offences was going forward rapidly in all parts of the State, and some of the planters in the eastern portion were boasting that the old order of things is practically restored for them, as they now own their gang, and have them in good subjection. Mr. Johnson's setting aside of General Sickles' order preventing whipping and sale, is regarded as utterly barbarous, and as virtually returning the blacks to Slavery.

WEST INDIES.—*Jamaica*.—The revenue accounts have been made up, and shew a deficit of 40,594*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* on the ordinary expenditure. The *Falmouth Post* says that when the ex-colonial treasurer, Mr. Westmoreland, assumed office, there was a balance of cash in the treasury of 64,000*l.* "and when he was cashiered, he left the small balance of 7111*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*" Taking into the account, however, a further sum of 13,075*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*, borrowed from the Immigration Fund, which would have to be repaid, the deficiency was by so much larger. The Governor confesses he was unprepared for so unfavourable a financial statement.

Provision was being made for a stipendiary magistracy, and a reduction in the number of parishes from twenty-two to fourteen had been determined upon. The Surrey County Jail would be abolished, and all lands on which the quit rents and land tax had not been paid, were to be declared forfeited to the Crown. A new police force was to be organized; and with a view to meeting the deficit on the revenue, the excise tax on rum was to be increased.

The court-martial on Lieutenant Cullen had terminated its inquiry after sitting thirty-six days. The "finding" had been transmitted home for approval; but its nature had not transpired. An acquittal, however, was fully expected. The inquiry into the case against Staff-Surgeon Morris had commenced.

THE QUEEN'S ADVICE TO THE PEOPLE OF JAMAICA.

DURING the recent investigations into the causes of the dissatisfaction alleged to have caused the riots at Morant Bay, much stress was laid upon the publication of a document called "The Queen's Advice." It was affirmed that the "advice" had given rise to a great amount of angry feeling, because it was felt to cast direct and unmerited censure upon the peasantry. At the request of many of our friends, we republish the text of this now notorious document.

THE QUEEN'S ADVICE.

Gov. Sec. Office, 5th July 1865.

Various meetings having recently taken place

in several parishes of this colony, in reference to the condition of the working classes, and the Governor having reason to fear that many of the peasantry are under considerable misapprehension as to the relative advantages they enjoy, or the disadvantages they labour under, in Jamaica, in comparison with similar classes in other countries, His Excellency has directed the following Reply, addressed by the Queen's direction, to a memorial transmitted to Her Majesty by certain poor people of the parish of St. Ann, to be published for general information.

By command,

(Signed) HUGH W. AUSTIN, Gov. Sec.

THE RIGHT HON. E. CARDWELL TO GOVERNOR EYRE.

Copy. Jamaica. No. 222.

Downing Street, 14th June 1865.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No. 117, of the 26th April, enclosing a petition addressed to the Queen by certain poor people of the parish of St. Ann's, Jamaica.

2. I request that you will inform the petitioners that their petition has been laid before the Queen, and that I have received Her Majesty's command to inform them that the prosperity of the labouring classes, as well as of all other classes, depend, in Jamaica, and in other countries, upon their working for wages, not uncertainly, or capriciously, but steadily and continuously, at the times when their labour is wanted, and for so long as it is wanted; and that if they would use their industry, and thereby render the plantations productive, they would enable the planters to pay them higher wages for the same hours of work than are received by the best field-labourers in this country; and as the cost of the necessaries of life is much less in Jamaica than it is here, they would be enabled, by adding prudence to industry, to lay by an ample provision for seasons of drought and dearth; and they may be assured that it is from their own industry and prudence, in availing themselves of the means of prospering that are before them, and not from any such schemes as have been suggested to them, that they must look for an improvement in their condition; and that Her Majesty will regard with interest and satisfaction their advancement through their own merits and efforts.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) EDWARD CARDWELL.

Governor Eyre, &c.

The above would not be a complete document without the petition to which it was the insolent reply. We therefore append it. Although undated, it was prepared and signed, early in 1865, by Geo. B. Williams, and 107 others, most of whom set their mark to it.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE POOR PEOPLE OF JAMAICA AND PARISH OF ST. ANN'S.

To our Most Gracious Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, rule over us, long may she live. God bless the Queen.

We, the undersigned, beg respectfully that

His Excellency the Governor of our island of Jamaica will be pleased to forward this petition to our Most Gracious Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria.

2. We, the poor people of this island, beg with submission to inform our Queen that we are in great want at this moment, from the bad state of our island. Soon after we became free subjects "we could get plenty of work, and well paid;" then all the estates "was in a flourishing state," but at this moment the most of the estates are thrown up. The pimento proprietors but seldom clean their properties, the price of pimento being so low as one penny per pound. Some of us, after we became free subjects, purchased a little land; some of us a lot, half-acre, one acre, and so on, at the rate of 10*l*. and 12*l*. per acre, merely as a home. We have to leave our homes every day when we can get employment, so that we may have means to go to market on Saturdays, by working on an estate or pen. Our little homes, we having turned up the soil so often that it becomes useless for provision, by which means we are compelled to rent land from the large proprietors at the rate of 2*l*. 8*s*. per acre for one year, and the rent must be paid in advance. In many instances our provisions is destroyed by cattle; and if the proprietors find the most simple fault, three months' notice is given, and we have to destroy our provisions, at the same time numbers of us having a large family of eleven or twelve children depending on the provisions for subsistence. We, your most humble subjects, and poor of the island of Jamaica, pray and beg the aid of our Most Gracious Lady Queen Victoria. Formerly we could get from 1*s*. 6*d*. to 2*s*. per day as labourers, as a carpenter or other tradesmen 3*s*. to 4*s*. per day. A job that we formerly would get 2*l*. for at this moment is only for 12*s*. Three or four of us may take job-work, and when it is finished in many instances we have to wait for weeks for payment of our work. During that time numbers of us, not having protected provisions field, felt great want and distress for want of employment. A number of our people committed themselves, by which means, if we had the least provision made for us, a very few of your subjects would have degraded themselves, and the penitentiary of our island would not be so full of convicts. We are blessed with a good island, but we require a much larger extent of cultivation. If our Most Gracious Sovereign Lady will be so kind as to get a quantity of land, we will put our hands and hearts to work, and cultivate coffee, corn, canes, cotton and tobacco, and other produce. We will form a company for that purpose, if our Gracious Lady Victoria our Queen will also appoint an agent to receive such produce as we may cultivate, and give us means of subsistence while at work. Your humble servants return thanks to the Lord, and our Most Gracious Lady Queen Victoria for the benefits we have received. Each of us beg that our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria will be so kind as to get us a quantity of such land as we now stand in need of. We, your humble servants, will thankfully repay our Sovereign Lady by instalments of such produce as we may cultivate. Your humble servants is willing to work so that

we may be comfortable. We have that knowledge to know that your servants must feel want. We are in great want of active employment, that is land room, plentiful for the last ten years. If it had not been for the bread-fruits and cocoa-nut, numbers of us would have perished. Our difficulties is very great. We have to pay 9*d*. per yard for cloth of the worst kind. The cloth in general is so high in price that numbers of our people is half naked. If our Gracious Sovereign will be pleased to grant our request, in a few years' time our Sovereign Lady Queen will see the improvement of our island, and the benefit that your humble servants will derive. We are far away from our Gracious Queen, otherwise your humble servants would all speak to our Sovereign personally of our distress. We think that our distress is felt throughout the island, and we hope some of our adjoining neighbours in other parishes will also state to our Sovereign their distress.

3. We, the undersigned, your humble servants, have heavy taxes to pay, and have to pay the export duty on our little produce when selling it to the merchants. Your humble servants by the notice of our Gracious Lady Queen Victoria, wishing her long life to reign over your poor and humble servants of the parish of St. Ann's and island of Jamaica. We, your humble servants, being short of knowledge, by that our Most Gracious Lady Queen Victoria will oversight any thing that we may say improper. We, your most humble servants, as a duty bound, ever pray.

God bless the Queen.

Signed by George B. Williams, and 107 other persons, most of whom signed with a *✕*.

It is one of the fictions attaching to a monarchical form of government, that "the King can do no wrong;" in other words, is not responsible for any official act. We presume it is by another of these peculiar fictions that the monarch's sanction is given to documents, such as the above, which he may never have seen, and that his name is used to give them weight. If our good and well-beloved Queen, who has on so many occasions given proof of a feeling heart, ever gave her sanction to such a document as the above, Her Majesty was very badly advised, for assuredly a more cruel and undeserved rebuke was never administered to any "poor people" in answer to a statement of grievances, now proved to have been only too well founded. It is admitted on all hands that the one great want of Jamaica is capital, not labour; and it has been placed beyond a possibility of disproof, that although there may be cases of indolence—as there are in all communities—the Jamaica labourer is at all times willing to work for fair wages, regularly paid. The writer of the "Queen's Advice" must have been under the immediate teaching of a member of the West-India body, full of the inveterate prejudices of his class, and glad of an opportu-

nity to reiterate planter theory, that the negro in Jamaica has nothing to complain of, and that the West-India planter is the best and fairest of task-masters. Capricious, or non-continuous labour, is the result of capricious and irregular payment of wages, or of no payment at all. People do not care to be industrious for the exclusive benefit of those who employ them; and in no country in the world is the labour question in so anomalous and unsatisfactory a position as it is in our West-India colonies, and Jamaica especially. This assertion is proved by the rate of wages paid. If labour were scarce, as is alleged, the price of it would infallibly rise; but the rate of wages has not only not risen, but has suffered a gradual diminution, while the amount of a task has even been actually augmented. The planters will not pay high wages: they do not always pay low wages. When they got their income by the fruits of stolen labour they complained, although, for their especial benefit, the commodity they sent to market was enormously protected, to the disadvantage of the consumer. When they could no longer command stolen labour, they regulated wages, not according to the rule which governs their rate in other countries, but according to some arbitrary standard of their own, while by their one-sided legislation they placed it practically out of the power of the aggrieved labourer to appeal against injustice when it was done to him. They next taxed the community at large for the introduction of foreign labour, and as the working classes paid most in indirect taxes, they were thus compelled to contribute the larger portion of the cost—incidental and direct—of importing coolie labour to compete with their own in the market. We ask why the West-India peasant should be exposed to such unfair competition, and to such an anomalous state of things? Let him by all means compete in the labour-market with others, never mind whence they come, but at least let it be on equitable terms. Under the circumstances we have mentioned, "the Queen's Advice" was insult added to injury, and the public meetings held to protest against it, and to renew the petitions to the Queen, were legitimate demonstrations of public feeling, which ought to have been encouraged. Let us hope that the sad events, which have covered with infamy the name of the Governor who hanged the patriot Gordon will be overruled for the good of Jamaica, and that the present representative of the Queen in that island may gradually remedy admitted abuses, and thus lay the foundation for the prosperity of a community needing only fair treatment and equitable legislation to en-

sure its progress and happiness, and to enable it to attain to the highest point of civilization.

THE JAMAICA MASSACRE.

THE *National Anti-Slavery Standard* of the 29th Dec ult. reprints from the *New Orleans Tribune* the following communication, which the writer had addressed to John Stuart Mill, Esq., as Chairman of the Jamaica Committee.

New Orleans (U.S.), Nov. 25, 1866.

Hon. JOHN STUART MILL, M.P., Chairman Jamaica Committee, London.

SIR—A residence of two years in Jamaica, from 1863 to 1865, has necessarily put me in possession of facts, which, if faithfully represented, may give additional force to the movement of your Committee and the cause of justice. It must be known to you that the planting interest is yet the ruling power in Jamaica; that it is slavish, in spirit and in tendency; that it monopolizes every thing, in church, in State, in social life, and in every department of trade and commerce; that to oppose it is high treason—a crime whose punishment is social proscription and disqualification for any honourable position. It is, in a word, king and dictator, whose errors and impositions are supreme law, and he who so far forgets himself as to point them out in any way, is at once "spotted" and driven beyond the pale of employment and the means of livelihood by the ape aristocracy. The labouring class—blacks of course—are the sole unhappy victims of the lingering slave-power. For them there is no office; no honourable positions, except a hard task in the sugar-house, the still-house, the cane-field and the coffee mountain.

They can go no higher; no other avenues are open to them; and their wages are so small as to put the acquirement of property, real or personal, beyond their reach or hope. With no other alternative, then, except starvation, they are compelled to labour hard from year to year at an average of one shilling a day to keep soul and body together.

I have been employed myself as a book-keeper on one of the sugar estates in Jamaica, and know whereof I speak.

Unfortunately for the blacks, the overseers are all Justices of the Peace, and leagued together to defend and promote their own interests. This is an excellent arrangement; and the man who opposes it, if he has a public appointment, is sure to lose his official head.

George William Gordon was once a Justice of the Peace for several parishes; but as soon as he took a stand against the combined overseers, his commissions were cancelled. The collectors of dues or taxes do not dare assess and collect the dues from the overseers on the estates, according to law. They must be satisfied with what the overseers give in. They dare not enforce the law upon them. About one-half of the working-stock on the estates only is licensed. The balance, of course, is driven "on Her Majesty's service." The blacks, on the other hand do not fare so well. They cannot use the franking privileges. If they

have a donkey or horse, they must be very punctual in having it licensed at the specified time, if they are careless in letting the time run on, say two weeks, their donkey or horse is seized and put in the public pound, and there kept till all dues are paid.

Under this system of outrage and bold imposition, then is it strange that the blacks should tire of patience, and seek another mode of redress? Is it not folly for them to expect justice from the overseer magistrates? Is it strange that they should revolt, and seek redress for their wrongs in the spirit of "liberty or death?"

Oppression is the mother of revolution: it sows the seed of bloodshed, and very often the innocent are made to reap its terrible harvest. Hence the conception and precipitation of the Jamaica riot. But the responsibility and evil consequences of that riot do not rest solely on ex-Gov. Eyre. He is too weak, too womanish, too devoid of manly courage and sound judgment to direct a movement of any kind, whether good or evil. His cowering timidity and official stupidity would be pardonable were it not for his mischievous proclivities. He was simply a pliable dupe in Jamaica, bought by the overseer dynasty to legalize their acts of corruption and imposition; and true to his calling, he did their dirty work according "to order." Mr. Eyre was the same to the ape aristocracy of Jamaica as President Johnson is to the rebel copperhead element in the United States. The only difference between the two political dupes, is that the former, with womanish timidity, follows events, while the latter, with an ignorance mingled with ambition and egotism never before excelled by any one man, makes and temporarily controls them.

I resided in the parish of St. David, in Jamaica, over a year. Mr. Clarke, whose murderers your Committee are trying to bring to the bar of justice, lived in the same parish. We lived in the same place, and I enjoyed his confidence and friendship. He was a vestryman, and had marked influence among his black fellow-men. He sought redress for their wrongs; took their cases to court and defended them. He was well informed on law matters, and displayed a tact which was a mystery to the overseers of the surrounding parishes; and, notwithstanding the combined pressure usually brought to bear against him, was generally victorious. He was a brave, open enemy to the overseer dynasty; would oppose and expose their corruption and impositions at every chance; and for this reason, made himself odious with the ruling classes. The blacks would come to him from distant parishes for advice on all legal matters. Wm. P. Georges, Custos of the parish of St. David, and proprietor of an estate in the same parish, was always an enemy to Clarke. They were always at swords' ends; they would quarrel at every vestry meeting. Georges was windy, boisterous and threatening; and as he was Custos and held the keys of the public crib in the parish, generally held everybody in silent awe, except Clarke.

When the riot broke out, all those who were known to be in sympathy with the blacks were arrested and lodged in jail indiscriminately. Men and women were "cattled" for trivial offences, at the instance of overseers or other persons of petty

authority. The day of retribution had come; and the old slave spirit rose from its grave and boldly asserted its ancient power. Freedom of speech had flapped its wings and departed, while the press seemed mesmerised as by the power of an unseen agency. Dr. Bowerbank, who was Custos of Kingston, and who had made himself infamous by converting the public hospital into a slaughter-house by his surgical ignorance, now had an opportunity of revenging himself on some of his traducers. He made good the opportunity, and directed the arrest of all those who were known to be friendly disposed towards the blacks. He found a ready tool to execute his orders in the person of Alex. Nairn, the wiggled Inspector of Police for Kingston.

All those who were prominent in the Underhill movement were arrested. But Dr. Bowerbank was not the only one who took advantage of the favoured time. There were others; the most prominent of whom was Wm. P. Georges, already named. He had two of his vestrymen arrested—Samuel Clarke and Robert Levy. He had Clarke hanged, and when he returned from his work of death to St. David, he boastingly told the blacks that he had "hung their king." He was asked to have Levy share the same fate, but spared his life because Levy was only a new enemy, and had not opposed him so much as Clarke.

Mr. Clarke often told me that, were it not for him, the blacks would have revolted before. He was by no means a revolutionist; he was law-abiding; and was always hopeful that England would send a commission to investigate the wholesale corruption in Jamaica. When Dr. Underhill sent his terrible bombshell into the pro-slavery camps of Jamaica, Mr. Clarke was among the first to re-echo its thunder. He wrote and spoke for the endorsement of Mr. Underhill's representation, until the whole island was in flames on the subject of corruption, bribery and oppression. There is no doubt but that the great impulse awakened by Mr. Underhill's letter had an indirect tendency to precipitate the revolt. That this impulse was awakened unintentionally, is made manifest by Mr. Underhill's own words subsequently. The act of arresting Mr. Clarke in Kingston under civil authority, *without warrant* (after the riot had been put down), and transporting him to Morant Bay, where martial law ruled, does not seem to be warranted by British laws; and his subsequent execution, *without trial or conviction*, is an act which compromises British honour and justice, unless the laws are vindicated and the combined aristocratic culprits brought to justice. But I cannot, through this medium, represent one-tenth of such facts as would be of value to your Committee. It would require a volume. So I must content myself with the foregoing, with a sincere hope that your Committee will be successful in redeeming pending British honour, and in promoting the great cause of human justice.

I am, sir, very obediently,

JOHN WILLIS MENARD.

PUBLIC BREAKFAST TO THOMAS HARVEY.

ON Monday morning, the 9th ultimo, a public breakfast was offered to Mr. Harvey, of Leeds, at the Queen's Hotel in that town. The chair was occupied by the Rev. Edward Jackson, M.A., who was supported on his right by Mr. Harvey, and Mr. C. S. Roundell, Secretary to the late Jamaica Commission, and on his left by Mr. W. E. Forster, M.P.

After breakfast the chairman explained, that, in conjunction with Darnton Lupton and John Jowitt, Esqs., and many others, he had invited their highly-respected and esteemed fellow-townsmen to meet his friends, in order to afford him a public opportunity of stating the impressions he had derived from his recent philanthropic visit to Jamaica.

Mr. Harvey returned thanks for the kindness done him, and proceeded to give a narrative of his late tour, and to state the result of his inquiries. As it is impossible to give a summary of Mr. Harvey's address without doing great injustice to it, we must confine ourselves to recording that it was full of interesting facts, and elicited warm applause. We hope to have room in our next for some of the most prominent points, and also for extracts from the speeches of W. E. Forster, M.P., and Mr. C. S. Roundell.

The following resolution, proposed by Mr. Darnton Lupton, and seconded by Mr. Jowitt, was unanimously adopted:

"That the gentlemen present gladly embrace the opportunity of testifying their cordial esteem and respect for their townsman, Mr. Harvey; and their high appreciation of the truly benevolent and philanthropic motive which led him, at such great personal inconvenience and sacrifice, to pay his recent visit to Jamaica. They beg to tender to Mr. Harvey their sincere thanks for the valuable information which he has now given to them, on the social, moral, and educational condition and prospects of that island; and they earnestly trust that, through the enlightened and impartial administration of the Government, and the increased efforts of all well-disposed persons, both there and at home, conceived and carried out apart from all narrow and intolerant interests and feelings, the future of that important part of our West-India possessions may be in every way prosperous and happy."

THE HURRICANE IN TURK'S ISLANDS.

WE have received a paper relating to the fearful hurricane which passed over the group known as Turk's Islands, on the 30th of September last, the like of which has

not visited them since the great October hurricane of 1780, and the one of August 1813. In the one of last September, more lives and property were destroyed than on either of the previous occasions, a loss which is summarized as follows in the paper to which we have referred:

Twenty lives lost from exposure and injuries sustained.

Over 800 houses, with all their contents, furniture, clothing, &c., completely destroyed.

A great number of persons crippled, bruised, and otherwise seriously injured.

More than 3000 persons left houseless, penniless, and almost naked.

The whole of the labouring portion of the colony entirely destitute.

The public schools, armoury, jail, poor-house, quarantine hospital, market, and all Government out-buildings, blown down.

Government House and public offices shattered, and a large portion of the former blown away.

One million two hundred thousand bushels of salt swept off.

Six foreign vessels and twelve island craft lost, and twenty of their crews drowned.

Scarcity of provisions. Not over fifteen days' supply.

With a view to provide in a measure for the alleviation of the distress consequent upon this sad calamity, it would appear that a local Committee has been constituted, which is issuing an appeal for aid. The copy we now publish did not reach us until our last Number had gone to press, but we hope we may yet be in time to obtain a little assistance for the victims of this awful visitation.

APPEAL.

Relief Committee Room, Grand Turk,
Turk's Islands, West Indies,

Nov. 10th, 1866.

Whereas it pleased Almighty God in his all-wise and merciful providence on Sunday, the 30th of September last, to visit these islands with one of the most disastrous and terrific hurricanes ever experienced in the West Indies, the dreadful effects of which have been ruinous to the inhabitants and trade of the colony.

Of salt, its only staple, 1,200,000 bushels have been destroyed; the salt-pans have, in a great measure, met with the same fate; while the machinery and implements used in the manufacture of the staple article have been swept away by the fury of the gale and the inroads of the ocean. This has been rendered the more fearful from the sad consequences that must inevitably result from them in regard to the labouring population, who will be deprived of employment, and, unless aided by charity, will either perish from starvation, or have to seek for homes in other lands.

Upwards of 1200 houses, with their contents of furniture and clothing, have been carried

away in the force of the storm—the few left are seriously damaged—whereby hundreds have been left homeless and houseless, without food or clothing, their only shelter at the moment being the various places of worship, partly dilapidated, and the cellars of such houses as have been left partially standing; their chief sustenance and clothing having to be provided by the Government, under the supervision of the Relief Committee—an assistance which cannot long be continued.

Under such a pressure of utter distress, it has been unanimously resolved to appeal to the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and the friends of the Negro in England, imploring their aid and Christian sympathy, and also to the ministers of the various religious denominations, with a view of bringing before their congregations the fearful exigency of our sad condition, and ask for their generous contributions.

Nothing but a sense of the deepest distress and fearful suffering, consequent upon the calamity wherewith it has pleased the Lord to visit us—by which the trade and resources of the colony have been utterly paralyzed—would have induced such an appeal as the present.

Messrs. C. W. and W. Gray, 31 Great St. Helen's, London, are requested to receive and forward all contributions.

The Hon. A. J. Duncombe, Member of Council and Chief Justice of the Colony, Chairman of the Relief Committee, will forward copies of this appeal, and receive contributions.

FREEDMEN'S COLUMN.

COLUMBIA.—The Assistant-Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for the District of Columbia and the adjacent parts of Maryland and Virginia, reports many cases of abuses under the apprenticeship law of Maryland. Freed children have frequently been apprenticed by the courts to their former owners, and sometimes hired out, the former owner receiving their wages. He estimates that there have been 600 cases of unjust apprenticeship in Calvert Co. alone, and nearly as many in Anne Arundel, and the same practice has prevailed to some extent in other counties. The agents of the Bureau have given attention to the subject, and some children have been released by *habeas corpus*. None are known to have been apprenticed since the enactment of the Civil Rights law.

A HINT FOR THE EYRE DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

"It is said that immediately after the battle of Sedgemoor, Feversham, the victorious commander, caused above twenty persons to be immediately hanged; and was proceeding in his atrocities, when the Bishop of Bath and Wells informed him that those unfortunate and deluded persons were by law entitled to a trial, and that such summary punishment was actual murder."—*Beauties of England and Wales; Somersetshire*, page 348—*Monmouth's Rebellion*.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1867.

NOTICE TO FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Our subscribers are respectfully informed that their Annual Contributions to the funds of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* fell due on the 1st of January. All subscribers to the amount of Ten Shillings annually are entitled to receive, post-free, a copy of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and of any tract or pamphlet issued by the Society. To non-subscribers, the *Reporter* is sent on payment of Four Shillings in advance, commencing on the 1st of January. Payments should be made to the Secretary, L. A. Chamerovzow, either in stamps or by Post-office Order, made payable at the Post-office, New Broad Street, E. C., London.

PARIS ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

We beg to call the attention of our Subscribers, and that of the friends in general of the anti-slavery cause, to the subjoined announcement, and respectfully to suggest, that in any case in which it has not already reached them in due course of post, they will please accept this present notice as an invitation, and communicate with us accordingly. We would also solicit the favour of a re-publication of our Circulars, and the outline of the Programme, in local newspapers, as a means of informing many who are interested in the anti-slavery movement, but with whom we may not be in direct correspondence. This request is more especially addressed to friends in the West Indies and other remote countries. In due course further particulars will be published: in the meanwhile we shall be glad to receive papers and suggestions, and letters of adhesion.

27 New Broad Street, E. C.
London, January 17, 1867.

I beg to call your attention to the accompanying Circular and outline of Programme, relating to the Paris Anti-Slavery Conference, and to request you to be so kind as to inform me whether you propose to attend it.

As there is every probability of a considerable influx of visitors, the Sub-Committee have communicated with Mr. Cook,

the well-known excursion manager, who has undertaken to place himself at the disposal of those members of the Conference, who may desire him to secure for them suitable accommodation.

The Sub-Committee would respectfully request that all communications on the subjects which are to occupy the attention of the Conference—many of which will require translation—should be sent in to the Secretaries not later than the 15th of May.

Special delegates from local Anti-Slavery Societies, or from particular localities, will receive, on presentation of their credentials, a card of membership.

The Sub-Committee presume that many persons in the United States and other distant countries are likely to visit Europe during the Great Paris Exhibition. It is submitted that advantage might be taken of this circumstance to secure them as delegates; and it is hoped the friends of the cause will make an earnest effort to impart to the Conference the character of an international anti-slavery representative assembly.

I am,
Your's very truly,
L. A. CHAMEROVZOW,
Secretary.

27 New Broad Street, E.C., London,
January 1867.

DEAR SIR,

The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* and the *Spanish Abolitionist Society* (*La Sociedad Abolicionista Española*), have agreed to a suggestion made by the *Comité Français d'Emancipation*, to hold in Paris, in the second or the third week in June next, a Conference of friends of the anti-slavery cause.

It is proposed that this Conference shall comprise representatives from Brazil, England and the English Colonies, France and the French Colonies, Holland and the Dutch Colonies, Haiti and St. Domingo, the African Republic of Liberia, Portugal, Spain and the Spanish Antilles, Venezuela, and the United States of America; and its immediate object is to take cognizance of the actual state of the anti-slavery question in these countries, and to consider what further means may be adopted to promote the abolition of the slave-trade and Slavery where these evils still exist.

It is also hoped that representatives from Chili, Peru, and Mexico, and travellers and Missionaries from Africa, may be present.

In directing your attention to the annexed outline of the Programme, the Sub-Committees appointed to arrange for the

proposed Conference would be glad to receive an intimation of your intention to be present, or to forward any written statement or documents relating to any of the subjects referred to, as it is considered of the utmost importance that as many of those who have been identified with, or who are interested in, the advancement of the anti-slavery cause, should, on this occasion, give their co-operation, either personally or by communication.

You are respectfully requested to send an answer as soon as possible, but not later than the 1st of April.*

On behalf of the Committees of
these Societies,
We have the honour to be
Dear Sir,
Your's very truly,

WILLIAM ALLEN,
JOSEPH COOPER,
JAMES WILLIAM MASSIE, D.D., LL.D.
HENRY STERRY,
*Sub-Committee on behalf of the British
and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.*
L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, Secretary.
JULIO L. DE VIZCARRONDO, Secretary of
the Spanish Abolitionist Society.
EDOUARD LABOULAYE, Membre de l'Institut;
President of the Comité Français d'Emancipation.
AUGUSTIN COCHIN, Membre de l'Institut;
Honorary Secretary.

OUTLINE OF PROGRAMME.

Section the First.....THE SLAVE-TRADE.
Section the Second...SLAVERY.
Section the Third. { THE RESULTS OF EMAN-
CIPATION.

I.—THE SLAVE-TRADE.

§ The papers under this Section will embrace statistics and particulars relating to the Trans-Atlantic African slave-trade, to the internal slave-trade in Africa, and the coast-wise traffic in Brazil; also statistics concerning the Chinese and Indian coolie traffic, and the French *engagé* system.

II.—SLAVERY.

Under this Section the present position of the question will be discussed, with especial relation to the emancipation of the slaves in Brazil, in the Portuguese transmarine possessions, and the Spanish Antilles.

* Replies to be addressed as under:

Paris: M. AUGUSTIN COCHIN, 25 Rue St. Guillaume, Faubourg St. Germain.
Madrid: Senor J. L. DE VIZCARRONDO, Calle del Soldado, 4, Principal.
London: L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, 27 New Broad Street, E.C.

III.—THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

Under this head it is intended to present papers submitting the results of emancipation in the English, French, and Dutch colonies, and the latest information relating to the treatment, condition, and prospects of the Freedmen in the United States of America.

ANTI-SLAVERY IN SPAIN.

WE have, from time to time, informed our readers of the progress of the anti-slavery movement in Spain. It is deeply to be regretted that the restrictions at present in force upon free speech in that country preclude the publication in the newspapers of the proceedings of the Abolitionists, and that the action of the ruling powers against the Cortes, renders the prospect of a discussion of the question of Emancipation, in the Representative Assembly, hopeless for the time being. It is, however, well that the friends of the cause in this country should know what are the views of their coadjutors in Spain, and to what extent they are prepared to advocate the liberation of the slaves. Of course it is now well known that the leaders of the Progressista party have been either exiled by superior order, or have themselves fled, to avoid arrest and compulsory expatriation, and that it is precisely in the ranks of these advanced liberals that the most sturdy and radical abolitionists are to be found. They are silenced for the moment, it is true, but the power of the press is unbounded; and although our journal is but as a minnow amongst whales, it reaches quarters not penetrated by the magnates of public opinion, and these do not disdain to circulate the items of special information it contains, though they are above acknowledging the source of their knowledge. In the hope that, in this way, the following intelligence may get into circulation, we publish the "Plan of Emancipation" devised by Senor de Oreuse, (Marquis de Albaida,) one of the Progressist leaders, which he intended presenting to the Cortes during the Session of 1865, but was prevented by the political disturbances, and again, in 1866, by the interference of Narvaez with the usual course of legislative action. But the world moves.

Plan of Emancipation.

TO BE FREED.

1. All children under three years of age.
2. All slaves above sixty.
3. All children born after promulgation of the decree of emancipation.
4. All negroes introduced into Cuba since 1845, estimated at 100,000.
5. The remainder to be liberated upon payment of an indemnity to the owners.
6. Slavery to cease in five years.

EMANCIPATION FUND.

1. One-tenth of all customs' dues.
2. Proceeds of estates of persons dying intestate.
3. Proceeds of sale of the Pope's Bull granting permission to eat meat on Fridays, and which were originally appropriated to the redemption of captives taken by the Moors or the Arabs.
4. All fines for infringement of laws on the subject of abolition.
5. Tax on transfer of slaves by purchase, from one master to another. Estimated to bring in at the present time about 100,000*l.* annually.
6. A proposed tax of one dollar per month on each working slave.

In addition to the above details, it is intended to prohibit the holding of slaves by foreigners.

FRENCH ABOLITIONISTS AND THE EMPEROR OF BRAZIL.

IN our last we published a translation of the reply of the Emperor of Brazil to an Address which, early in the spring of last year, was forwarded to him from the *Comité Français d'Emancipation*, of which the Duke de Broglie and M. Guizot are Honorary Presidents. We have been favoured with a copy of that Address, and now we submit a translation of it.

ADDRESS.

TO HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF BRAZIL.

SIRE,

At a moment when the Republic of the United States, victorious in a long and sanguinary war, has just conferred liberty on 4,000,000 of slaves; at a time when Spain seems ready to yield to the voice of humanity and justice; we presume to address your Majesty an ardent appeal in behalf of the slaves in your empire.

We know, Sire—and no one in Europe is ignorant of the fact—that within your dominions you are all-powerful, and your power rests upon the grateful admiration and the sincere love of your people.

Already, Sire, you have abolished the slave-trade, but this measure is incomplete; one word, one expression of your Majesty's will, may cause the liberation of 2,000,000 of human beings.

You, Sire, can set the example, and you may be certain it will be followed; for Brazil has never regarded Slavery as a divine institution.

Every year generous voices are raised in the Parliament, in the press, in the pulpit, in favour of the abolition of Slavery. The number of slaves is much below that of the free population: more than a third is already in the towns, either in domestic service or exercising trades, and it would be very easy to convert them into paid free-labourers. Slavery once abolished, immigration would be directed into the provinces of the empire. The work of abolition, which must take facts, interests, and positions into account,

appears less difficult of accomplishment in Brazil, where the manners and customs of the country are mild, and the people have humane and Christian hearts.

We pray that your Majesty, already illustrious in arms, in literature, and in the art of governing, may acquire a nobler and purer glory; and we venture to hope that Brazil will not much longer be the last Christian land stained by Slavery.

We have the honour to be,
Your Majesty's very humble
and respectful Servants,

(Signed)

De Broglie, *Membre de l'Académie Française*,
Guizot, *Membre de l'Académie Française*,
Honorary Presidents.

Ed. Laboulaye, *Membre de l'Institut*, President,
Audley, *M.R.S.A.*, London and Paris,
Bersier, *Pastor*.

Prince de Broglie, *Membre de l'Académie Française*,

Gaumont, Member of the Commission of 1848,
for the Abolition of Slavery.

Leon Lavedan, Editor of the *Correspondant*.

Henri Martin, Author of the "History of
France."

Comte de Montalembert, *Membre de l'Académie Française*,

Henri Moreau, *Avocat à la Cour Impériale*,

Walton, *Membre de l'Institut*,

Eugene Yung, Editor, *Journal des Débats*,

Guillaume Monod, *Pastor*,

Edmond de Pressensé, *Pastor*,

Augustin Cochin, *Membre de l'Institut*, Honorary Secretary.

IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

THE impeachment of President Johnson, upon the motion of Mr. Ashley of Ohio, is before the Judiciary Committee of Congress. The result of their investigations into the charges against the chief of the State, and which will determine whether he is to be brought to trial, is not likely to be made known for some considerable time, as the inquiry—involving a series of accusations extending over the whole term of his administration must necessarily be protracted. Some of them are of the gravest kind, and the feeling in favour of a demand for impeachment is growing gradually stronger, and spreading. It is not to be expected of the *Times* and other English journals which espoused so enthusiastically the cause of the slaveholders in their late rebellion, nor of their correspondents, that the true character of this movement should be given. They will not see in it any thing more than a factious assault upon Mr. Johnson, by a party whose power and influence are to them and their adherents, simply detestable. They refuse to see what is as visible as the light of day, that a national sentiment of distrust is the foundation of this question of impeachment: a

distrust of the intentions of the late rebel States and of their leaders, as indicated by the re-construction policy of the President. The Republicans, or Radicals as they are derisively styled, have no faith in the men who refuse to accept the Constitutional Amendment, who oppose the operation of the Civil-Rights Bill, who chuckle over the vetoing by the President of the District of Columbia Suffrage Bill, who applaud his avowed opinion that the Freedmen are not worthy of the suffrage, and who rejoice over the outrages committed upon them in the Southern States. They have reason, these Republicans, for their hesitation to entrust this class with privileges they forfeited by their insane rebellion, and which they would again pervert to secure once again, for themselves and their fellow-conspirators, the power they not so long since possessed and abused. The national voice demands guarantees for the safety of the country at the hands of those whose wicked machinations plunged it into civil war for the sake of an institution condemned by all honest men, but in which they gloried, and which it was their purpose to extend and consolidate. It declares that Mr. Johnson's policy is not national but sectional, and that to adopt it would be to expose the people to the certainty of most dangerous political complications and to ultimate disaster. It asserts that the President has proved himself unfit to govern a great nation at a momentous crisis in its history, and that he must be made to feel himself amenable to interrogation for the manner in which he has discharged the all-important trust confided to him, and to punishment if found guilty of infractions of public duty. On this point the Judiciary Committee will have to return a true bill, or to throw out the indictment, and we may rest assured this serious responsibility will be discharged with impartiality and dignity.

The counts in the indictment against the President, as set forth in the Western petitions to Congress demanding his impeachment, are very numerous, and embrace some of the most serious allegations it is possible to bring against a public functionary. They may be summed up in the general terms of the preamble, that "in derogation of his high office and the dignity thereof, and in violation of the constitution and laws of the United States, he has been guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours dangerous to the liberties of the people, in usurpation of rights and abuse of the powers so devolved upon him." The particular charges are too lengthy for recapitulation in this place, but if admitted upon *prima facie* evidence, are such as render it impossible that the President should escape a severe penalty. We would rather hear they

are incapable of proof, for we admire the vigorous will and force of character of this self-made man, and are inclined to believe him rather the dupe of delusions for which he is scarcely accountable, than the cool, determined, enemy of his country, in league with late rebels and actual conspirators to bring about a state of things worse than that from which the nation has only so recently escaped. But we think it well the power of the people should make itself felt, believing as we do that the moral effect of such an assertion of authority is calculated to render essential service—as an example—to the cause of good government. The fact cannot be too forcibly dwelt upon, that the struggle between the Republican party and the President, between Congress and the chief of the Executive, is one of principle, not of faction. It is the spirit of liberty contending with the spectre of itself which the slave-power would set up in its place, and which, whilst prating of freedom, would limit it to a class, and thus re-enslave a community. The Democratic faction is a misnomer, and has ever been a self-contradiction, because it was founded upon the worst, most brutal form of despotism; was allied with an oligarchy which rested upon an assumed right of property in man, and which sought to bring the entire nation under its domination. Before a true Democracy can exist, this spirit of slavery must be utterly crushed out, and this extinction cannot be accomplished if the nation admit the late rebel States to Congressional representation, without their giving guarantees for the loyalty to Republican institutions which they profess. The friends of negro freedom and of liberty cannot but distrust Mr. Johnson, because he has shown no sympathy with the order of things which has sprung out of the war, and the subjugation of the slave power, and it is a sure symptom that his policy is adverse to the great principles of freedom embodied in the constitution to find his course sustained by those organs of opinion on this side the Atlantic, which are ever on the side of despotism. We have no fear but that the American people will prove equal to the task that is before them, and which will be accomplished only when all United-States citizens, irrespective of colour, are admitted to equal rights.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA NEGRO SUFFRAGE BILL.

IN our last Summary we recorded the adoption, by Congress, of a Bill extending the suffrage in the District of Columbia, to all persons unconvicted of crime, and irrespective of colour. This Bill the President vetoed, but it was subsequently passed, "over his head," by the necessary majority,

and is now part of the law of the land. The measure is a very important one, on account of the principle it asserts, although, as the only elections in the District of Columbia are of a municipal or local character, the change will not in any way—except by the moral influence it may have—affect the national politics. The most important thing that the coloured men of the district can do is to elect the mayor and common council of the city of Washington, and it is said they will have the power to control the elections of the Federal capital. Under the law limiting the suffrage to the whites, there have never been more than seven thousand votes polled in Washington, while it is estimated by some that the newly-enfranchised blacks number 15,000, though others put the number much lower. In view of the extreme importance of the Bill, we place its provisions on record. The Ayes in the Senate were 32 against 7, and in the House 118 against 46.

THE BILL.

Section 1. That from and after the passage of this Act, each and every male person, excepting paupers and persons under guardianship, of the age of 21 years and upward, who has not been convicted of any infamous crime or offence, and excepting persons who may have voluntarily given aid and comfort to the rebels in the late rebellion, and who shall have been born or naturalized in the United States, and who shall have resided in the said district for the period of one year, and in the ward or district in which he shall offer to vote three months next preceding any election therein, shall be entitled to the elective franchise, and shall be deemed an elector and entitled to vote at any election in said district, without any distinction on account of colour or race.

Sec. 2. That any person whose duty it shall be to receive votes at any election within the district of Columbia who shall wilfully refuse to receive, or who shall wilfully reject the vote of any person entitled to such right under this Act, shall be liable to an action of *Tort* by the person injured, and shall be liable, on indictment and conviction, if such act was done knowingly, to a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year in the jail of said district, or to both.

Sec. 3. That if any person or persons shall wilfully interrupt or disturb any such elector in the exercise of such franchise, he or they shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be fined in any sum not to exceed one thousand dollars, or be imprisoned in the jail in said district for a period not to exceed thirty days, or both, at the discretion of the Court.

Sec. 4. That it shall be the duty of the several courts having criminal jurisdiction in said district to give this Act in special charge to the grand jury at the commencement of each term of the court next preceding the holding of any general or city election in said district.

Sec. 5. That the mayor and aldermen of the City of Washington and Georgetown, respectively, on or before the first day of March in each year, shall prepare a list of the persons they judge to be qualified to vote in the several wards of said cities in any election, and said mayor and aldermen shall be in open session to receive evidence of the qualification of persons claiming the right to vote in any election therein, and for correcting said list, on two days in each year, not exceeding five days prior to the annual election for the choice of city officers, giving previous notice of the time and place of such session in some newspaper printed in said district.

Sec. 6. That on or before the first day of March, the mayor and aldermen of said cities shall post up a list of voters, thus prepared, in one or more public places in said cities respectively, at least ten days prior to said annual election.

Sec. 7. That the officers presiding at any election shall keep and use the check list herein required at the polls during the election of all officers, and no vote shall be received unless delivered by the voter in person, and not until the presiding officer has had opportunity to be satisfied of his identity, and shall find his name on the list, and mark it, and ascertain that his vote is single.

Sec. 8 and 9 were those added on motion of Mr. Wilson; to the first, punishing those who offered a bribe at an election; the second, punishing those who accepted it. For offering a bribe the punishment is two thousand dollars fine, or two years imprisonment, or both; for accepting a bribe the punishment is one year's imprisonment, and disfranchisement thereafter.

SLAVERY AUTHORIZED BY THE PRESIDENT.

THERE is a law in Maryland, which condemns to public sale any coloured person convicted of a misdemeanour or crime, involving in the case of a white man only confinement for a term in the common jail. This law is unreppealed, and so long as Slavery existed, was in harmony with that abominable institution. About six weeks ago, a public sale of certain coloured people, took place in Baltimore, their offence being petty larceny, and within the last month similar sales have occurred. Upon this subject the *New York Daily Tribune* has the following comments:

"Another sale of negroes in Maryland proves that unless the Civil Rights Bill is enforced, emancipation is but a farce. It matters not whether a thousand men are sold, or but two or three; the Constitution is equally denied, and Slavery re-established. There are two provisions in the laws of Maryland which impose unjust disabilities upon coloured men; the first disqualifies a negro from being a witness in any cause wherein a white man is a party; the second declares that where a negro is convicted of a crime for which a white man would be confined in the penitentiary, he shall be sentenced to be sold, either in or out of the State, for the

period for which a white man would be imprisoned. Since Maryland courts declare the Civil Rights Bill unconstitutional, there have been several sentences of negroes to Slavery, under the latter law, shewing a concerted resolution to restore Slavery in this modified form. The utter folly of the pretence that the penalty is a punishment of crime is shewn by the fact that one of the negroes sentenced to Slavery purchased his liberty for thirty-seven dollars, thus escaping with a slight fine. This small price was due, however, to the presence of Major Vanderlip, of the Freedmen's Bureau, who has issued a warrant for the arrest of Judge Magruder, who ordered the sale, and his trial before a United States Court under the Civil Rights Bill. Maryland papers claim that the negroes profit by the law, as the penitentiary is a worse punishment than Slavery; but they are very careful not to suggest that white men should be treated in the same way.

"But a graver question than conflict between the State laws of Maryland and the Civil Rights Bill presents itself. The President has suspended, by an order dated Dec. 19, Paragraphs V. and VI. of General Orders No. 15, issued by Gen. Sickles in the Department of the South. We quote the paragraphs:

"V. Corporal punishment shall not be inflicted upon any person other than a minor, and then only by the parent, guardian, teacher, or one to whom said minor is lawfully bound by indenture of apprenticeship. Nor shall any person be sold to service as a punishment for crime or for other cause, by any authority whatever.

"VI. the laws of the States, respectively, in this Department, defining and punishing vagrancy, applicable to white persons, may be enforced against all persons; nevertheless, no one who shall have used reasonable diligence to obtain employment, or who shall be unable to work, by reason of infirmity, shall be deemed a vagrant."

"By this Act, President Andrew Johnson permits South Carolina to whip her free negroes, and re-establish Slavery in all the States of the Department of the South. Without attempting to shew any cause, he has authorized in those States the same outrages which in Maryland have aroused the indignation of the people. He has attempted to nullify the Civil Rights Bill, defies the clause in the Constitution prohibiting Slavery; and has gone out of his way to seek a new issue with Congress. Of all his evil acts, none is worse than this."

THE END OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

WE copy the following from the *New York Tribune*, but would remark that we think our trans-Atlantic cotemporary rather premature in announcing the Slave-trade as at an end. Unquestionably it had declined to a minimum of importations during General Dulce's term of office, but revived immediately after the arrival of General Lersundi who succeeded him, and is not likely to diminish under General Manzano, unless he has been very much

misrepresented; for, according to common rumour, his sympathies are not with the opponents of the traffic. It is true he has issued a manifesto, declaring his determination to prosecute slave-traders, but this has been the invariable practice of all the Captains-General of Cuba, and has not restrained the majority of them from conniving at the illegal and most infamous trade in negroes. Nevertheless, we hope that "the beginning of the end" is at hand, and that General Manzano may be as good as his word.

(From the "New-York Weekly Tribune.")

There is one short passage in the Report of the Secretary of the Navy, just presented to Congress, which, probably overlooked amid the imposing details given in that document of the strength of our naval arm, and the movements of our squadrons in different parts of the world, merits, we think, particular notice. It is this:

"But one slaver has been fitted out on the southern coast of Africa within the past year, and she has been captured on the coast of Cuba, with her cargo. It was the opinion of prominent officials at Loando, including the French Admiral on that station, *that the slave-trade had expired, and that this blot on civilization had become at last a matter of history.*"

We also find the following in the Report:

"The vessels on the West-India station were instructed to exercise vigilance in detecting slavers, and preventing the slave-trade, provided any lingering remains of that nefarious traffic still existed. But no captures have been made, *and it is to be hoped this infamous trade is extinguished.*"

So, it would appear, it is to be the happiness of the present generation to witness the last of one of the greatest curses with which humanity has ever been afflicted. The history of the African slave-trade, like the prophet's roll, is "full of lamentations, and mourning, and woe." It is a history whose every page has been saturated with tears and blood. One of the most hopeful and cheering signs of the times is the fact that the last page of that dreadful history has been written, and that Christian civilization is to be redeemed from the abomination and disgrace of man-stealing, and of the cruelties and horrors of the "middle passage." The future historians of this country will record with pride the fact that, simultaneously with our struggles to save liberty in the Republic, the nation became more earnest than ever in protest against this abomination, and more active in efforts to suppress the wicked trade.

Spain is now the only Power from which any attempt to revive the traffic in human flesh and blood may be apprehended. But she, too, will be compelled to yield in this matter to that enlightened public opinion which has forced other nations to abandon the nefarious business. She is under treaty obligations with Great Britain to suppress the traffic, a sum amounting to nearly half a million of pounds sterling having been paid to her for that purpose. The terms of the treaty in question have been shamelessly violated by Spain, who for years past

has tacitly given every encouragement to the man-stealers of Cuba in the prosecution of their inhuman enterprise. Previously to our late civil war, the slave-trade to Cuba was carried on in great measure under cover of the United-States flag; but the treaty made with the British Government by President Lincoln's Administration, for the more effectual suppression of the traffic by means of concerted action between the United States and England, renders it impossible for the Spaniards any longer to find impunity under the shelter of our flag; and the vigilance of cruisers, as the Secretary's report shews, has done the rest, the trade being already virtually extinct. And Spain, we repeat, cannot revive it; for independently of that extraneous pressure, which, on the question of Negro Slavery, must eventually drive her into the right path, a wholesome sentiment is springing up in her own bosom. Madrid has its Abolition party, active, earnest, and enthusiastic; Cuba, too, has its Abolitionists; and there are facts shewing that the Spanish Government is feeling sensibly the moral pressure arising out of the events of the last five years in this part of the world. The abolition of Slavery in Cuba is only a question of time, and we think we see already "the beginning of the end."

THE EYRE DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

OUR readers may be aware that the Committee bearing the above name have been striving now, for some months, to mislead the public as to the precise objects of the Jamaica Committee. Not satisfied with making a gross calumny against the late G. W. Gordon the basis of an appeal for pecuniary help, no sooner did Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe, the solicitors for the Jamaica Committee, enter actions against Mr. Eyre, on behalf of Dr. Bruce, than this Eyre Defence Committee issued another advertisement, containing further mis-statements, the nature of which may be judged of from the subjoined communication from Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe to the public press. We think there will be a general concurrence of opinion that the case the Eyre Defence Committee have taken up must be desperately bad, for them to condescend to falsehood and calumny to sustain it. Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe's letter may be regarded as a warning:—

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Sir,—The Eyre Defence Committee are advertising as follows:—

1. That the Eyre prosecution has commenced.
2. That four actions have been commenced against Mr. Eyre and Colonel Nelson by the solicitors of the Jamaica Committee.
3. That the Jamaica Committee are also preparing an indictment against Mr. Eyre for murder.
4. That in consequence of this unparalleled and oppressive persecution, which they say will entail upon Mr. Eyre an enormous accumulation of costs, the Committee earnestly request additional subscriptions.

The facts are as follow:—

1. The Eyre prosecution has not yet commenced. This mis-statement, however, if it stood by itself, would not be worth correcting, as the prosecution will be commenced as soon as the witnesses who have been sent for arrive in this country from Jamaica.

2. Two private gentlemen who were illegally arrested, and one of whom was flogged, but against whom no shadow of evidence has ever been produced, have, without any connection with, or assistance from, the Jamaica Committee, commenced actions for damages against Mr. Eyre and Colonel Nelson, and have entrusted their cases to the solicitors who are also instructed by the Jamaica Committee.

The defence of the actions against Colonel Nelson has been undertaken by Government, who are thus interposing the national purse between these victims of martial law and an English court of justice. This step on the part of the Government will, of course, very greatly diminish the expense of defending the other two actions which have been commenced against Mr. Eyre, as the defence in each case must be substantially the same.

The only proceeding with which the Jamaica Committee has any thing whatever to do is the intended indictment, which, they are advised, is the only mode open to them of testing the legality of the late proceedings.

The Eyre Defence Committee, having been informed by us of the above facts, have instructed their Secretary to reply that "they see no reason whatever for altering their advertisements to suit the tastes" of the Jamaica Committee and of ourselves.

Not in order to suit anybody's tastes, but to prevent the public being misled, we must, therefore, ask you to be good enough to give insertion to this explanation.—We are, sir, yours obediently,

SHAEN AND ROSCOE.

8, Bedford-row, W.C., Jan 19.

GENERAL HOWARD AND THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

IN August last (the 23rd) Generals Steedman and Fullerton reported upon the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau, which they had been appointed to investigate. They charged the management with inefficiency, with undue interference in the regulation of wages, and recommended that the Bureau should be converted into a military organization. General Howard has just sent in his answer to this report, addressed to the President, from which we copy some of the most important of the sections relating to the question of labour, and the treatment of the freedmen.

EXTRACTS.

Bureau officers have never attempted to regulate wages, and no order ever existed making any regulations on the subject. Demand and supply controlled this matter. Of course wages, manner of payment, and all the questions entering

into the labour subject, differed widely throughout the South, and, from the nature of things, could not be uniform.

Although importuned from all parts of the South to take action about wages, I steadily refused. The following has been the standing order for all the States: "No fixed rate of wages will be prescribed for a district; but, in order to regulate fair wages in individual cases, agents should have in mind minimum rates for their own guidance."

Assistant-commissioners are required to furnish me with copies of all orders and circulars issued by them, and a close examination of all they have written on the subject fails to produce any attempt, upon their part, to regulate wages or contracts. The freedmen and employer have been left to manage the matter for themselves.

Planters refused to employ freedmen at all unless they would agree to remain one year. Of course freedmen were driven into those obligations by the same force that compelled them to work for low wages. Any one who will remember the current news of the day, as reported during the months of last January and February, will remember that all the power that capital can exercise was brought to bear upon the labourers of the South to make them contract.

The principles that apply to wages induced the present contract system. I would have been glad to have adopted precisely the same methods of regulating labour as obtained in the Northern States, but neither the planters nor the freedmen were yet prepared for this.

Planters complained that freedmen, under a free system of labour, would not work till the crop was saved, but would remain only till they obtained money to keep them a short time, and then desert the crops at a most critical period. Nearly every Southern State has provided laws by which the freedmen are to be contracted with.

I cannot agree with the Inspectors altogether as to a complete revolution in the sentiment of the Southern people which insures protection sufficient to the freedmen, when United States officers and freedmen are murdered, and the freedmen abused and mutilated, as is reported by the Inspectors themselves.

They say the good feelings of the whites toward the blacks are owing to their interest in securing their labour. This I regard as insufficient security when trusted to absolutely, without some other principle—e.g. the guaranty of equal laws. For years slaveholders have deemed compulsory measures the best security for labour.

I am prepared to prove that I have fulfilled the trust committed to me with care, conscientiousness, and faithfulness; I have obeyed orders and instructions, making no other objections than those I made to yourself and the Secretary of War; that my system has been a thorough one, and as complete and uniform as was possible in an institution intended to be temporary and to meet a transient necessity. *Could the Freedmen's Bureau be now administered with your full and*

heartly sanction, and with the co-operation of the other branches of the Government, it would fulfil the objects of its creation in a short time, and be made, while it existed, to conduce to industry, enlightenment, and justice for all classes of the people. The work committed to it may doubtless be done by the army, without a bureau, but not with much less expense. Yet, if the Government would keep good faith with its new-made citizens, some sort of a United-States agency must be maintained in the Southern States until society shall have become more settled than it now is.

Some useful hints may be gathered from the foregoing extracts, which shew how hopeless it is to trust the freedmen, unprotected, to the tender mercies of their late masters. The great error in our West Indian legislation was the suppression of the stipendiary magistracy, and that of the Freedmen's Bureau would be an equally fatal blunder.

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At the twenty-ninth annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, held in the Hall of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, on Thursday, November 22nd ultimo, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That the legally emancipated slave needs the right of suffrage to complete and secure his personal freedom; that without it the constitutional declaration of freedom and carefully-framed laws for his protection will be powerless to defend him; and therefore, as his representatives and advocates before the nation, we claim for him that badge and shield of our American freemen—the ballot.

Resolved, That the adoption of any plan of reconstruction which leaves the regulation of suffrage in the hands of the Southern States, will prove fatal to the coloured man's freedom and the nation's safety, and that we therefore demand that the negro's right to the ballot shall be protected by constitutional provisions.

Resolved, That the work of the Abolitionists will not be done until the spirit of Slavery is so far exorcised from the nation, that the coloured man of the South can assert and maintain his actual freedom in the presence of that dominant class, who, defeated on the battle-field, are now striving to win their cause by diplomacy, and to put the negro under their feet.

Resolved, That the citizens of Philadelphia, in the church and out of it, furnish the lamentable evidence that they are not repentant for the national sin of oppression in the disgraceful fact that forbids our coloured citizens to ride in our street cars, and allows them to be ejected with insult and violence.

Resolved, That we hold the churches of this city especially responsible for this meanness and wickedness, inasmuch as they set the example of such exclusion, by establishing negro pews in their houses of worship, and inasmuch as their moral power is amply sufficient to open our cars to the coloured men whenever they shall choose to exercise it in that direction.

Resolved, That as the Anti-Slavery Societies are the only organizations in this country which uncompromisingly demand suffrage for the negro, we earnestly recommend to all the friends and advocates of this claim to extend to these Societies and their organ, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, their liberal support.

Resolved, That we hail with joy every triumph of freedom over Slavery, of righteousness over injustice, and give hearty thanks for the moral growth of public sentiment touching the rights of the coloured man. Encouraged and strengthened thereby, we will persevere in our labours until our work shall be accomplished, and the slave finally transformed into a man.

Resolved, That in the name of four millions of betrayed and outraged black men, whose liberty he has sold; in the name of a betrayed and insulted nation, whose laws he has violated, whose will he has defamed, whose fundamental principles he has assaulted, we demand the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States.

FACTS FOR THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

FIVE pupils came up for final examination lately at the Theological Seminary of the Basle Mission at Akrapong, Gold Coast. They had gone through a course of three years, and were examined in Greek and Hebrew, Church History, Logic, Exegesis of the Old and New Testaments in the original languages, &c. Their answers were prompt, distinct, and clear, in evidence that they had well mastered their work. When these young men have served some years as catechists, they will be presented for ordination. It would have been very interesting for the members of the Anthropological Society to have been present at this examination, which was conducted for the most part in English, so that they could have judged for themselves whether the negro deserves a place among his *confrères* of the Japhetic and Shemitic races. FOUR out of the five are of the PUREST NEGRO BLOOD.—*African Times*.

Reviews.

Jamaica Papers, No. IV. A Quarter of a Century of Jamaica Legislation. By J. M. LUDLOW, Barrister-at-Law. Published by the Jamaica Committee, 65 Fleet Street, E.C., London.*

If any one wishes to know what has been the tendency of legislation in the island of Jamaica, during the last twenty-five years, he cannot do better than to read Mr. Ludlow's pamphlet. It has been denied,

* We much regret that this notice has been for some months shut out from our columns, on account of the pressure upon them of other matter.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

over and over again, by the organs of the planters' party in the colony, and repeated in journals of similar sympathies in this country, that class legislation had any existence there. The people—that is, the emancipated classes—had nought to complain of. Their rulers had taken especial care of their interests; had inflicted no burdens upon them; had made no invidious distinctions; had repudiated any intention of re-imposing Slavery in any form upon the community. These barefaced assertions were made in the teeth of facts proving the direct reverse; and although the truth was often proclaimed, it found neither acceptance nor echo. Mr. Ludlow has rendered essential service to the cause of freedom in producing so exhaustive a work as his review of Jamaica legislation under notice. It must have cost him a prodigious amount of labour; and it is impossible to speak in too high terms of the ability displayed in the arrangement of the matter and in the massing of the facts. It is a work that will probably not be read by the multitude, but it will be thoroughly appreciated by those who take more than a passing interest in the affairs of Jamaica.

Mr. Ludlow divides his subject into six sections, embracing an excellent "introduction," the remaining five being devoted to a synopsis of "The Criminal Law, Immigration and Education, The Tariff, Acts of the 28th Victoria," and a brief, but pithy chapter, on the "Results" of the various measures he so acutely criticises. Referring to them, as a whole, he says:

The laws of Jamaica must therefore be considered as embodying the views of an electoral body, not only not representing the great mass of the population, but from which the great mass is sedulously excluded; yet in which, again, the paid servants of the State, often excluded from the franchise in the mother-country, are expressly included.

What must be the inevitable character of legislation by such legislators is obvious enough. The very fact supplies its own inference; and when it is borne in mind that the same features are common to the island system of local government, we obtain a sudden and marvellously clear insight into the latent causes of the dissatisfaction and demoralization alleged to prevail amongst the masses. Under such influences, it is not surprising to find the criminal law continually amended, with a view to render it more and more stringent, and the catalogue of felonies augmented by the addition to it of minor offences, punishable by extreme penalties. Thus "obeah and myalism" were constituted offences under the 4th Vic. cap. 42, visited with twenty-eight days imprisonment, with hard labour. Fifteen years later, and

"after the pouring in of thousands of immigrants," the penalty was three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, on conviction before two justices, or twelve months hard labour, and not exceeding seventy-eight lashes, on conviction by the criminal court of the parish or precinct. Again, in the category of petty larcenies, was included stealing "any of the fruit or growing produce of any tree, shrub, or plant, growing in any land, either open or enclosed, such produce being used for the food of man or beast, or for dyeing or distilling purposes;" and this offence was punishable, under the 15th Vic. c. 20 (Session 1851-52), by imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding one month, or to a penalty not exceeding forty shillings, over and above the value of the property or the amount of injury done, and, in default of payment, imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months. In 1852-53, and in 1859, this statute was again amended, and the penalties rendered more severe, whilst its provisions were made to extend to the taking of other agricultural products not before enumerated or included. In 1864 (26th Vic. c. 33), the Act was further amended, and the punishment for simple larceny was enacted to be "penal servitude for three years, or imprisonment for not exceeding two, with or without hard labour, and with or without solitary confinement." If, after a previous conviction, the period of penal servitude might be extended to ten years: and so on of other similar misdemeanours.

Mr. Ludlow makes the following judicious remarks upon the character of these amended statutes; and our readers may remember that the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* memorialized the Colonial Secretary upon the subject.

I shall not stop to examine into the details of variation between this Act and the preceding ones, which are, in some respects, mitigated by it, especially through the restriction of felonies. But it follows from it that—as in the mother-country—to steal "any vegetable production"—e.g., a bunch of weeds for a cage-bird—in a garden, orchard, pleasure-ground, or nursery-ground, may entail at the hands of one justice, six months' imprisonment at hard labour; that to steal "any cultivated root or plant used for the food of man or beast," &c.—e.g. a blade of artificial grass—in any open land, may entail one month's imprisonment at hard labour. And it follows also that to suck ten shillings' worth of canes during the cutting, to swallow ten shillings' worth of sugar or molasses at boiling time (a practice indulged in, more or less, from time immemorial) entails no less term of penal servitude than three years, increaseable to fourteen; that to have in one's possession one shilling's worth of sugar, coffee, &c., or any other

"valuable produce commonly used for exportation in the island," without being able to satisfy one justice that one came lawfully by the same, makes the possessor liable to 6*l.* fine, over and above the value.

It is obvious that these are exceedingly stringent enactments, all the more dangerous from the discretion which is left to individual justices of the peace. Be it observed, that in no single instance is it provided that the administrators of justice should be disinterested persons. I may have been unfortunate in not discovering the enactments which would restrain such cases, but I have seen nothing to hinder a single planter-justice from exercising all the rigours of the law upon his own labourers for alleged offences against himself. But what chance of justice has a labourer, who has fallen under his master's displeasure, when his hut has been broken into under a search-warrant from the former, of convincing even a neighbouring planter, or attorney, that he came lawfully by a shilling's worth of sugar, molasses, &c.?

Mr. Ludlow next proceeds to show the constant tendency of the penal legislation of Jamaica for the last fifteen years to restore corporal punishment, it being "extended to offences to which its useful application is most questionable," and "enacted in such a manner as to render it indefinitely extensible by the creation of new felonies, authorized to be inflicted in the very objectionable form of a sole punishment;" while, on the other hand, "the penal law was almost constantly increasing in severity, and new felonies were successively created, the main increase of severity being in respect of offences relating to agriculture and land."

The object of this stringent legislation was to obtain "convict," or rather compulsory "labour," for the planters; in other words, to restore a form of Slavery without its conveniences. Mr. Ludlow shows this conclusively, and it is impossible to peruse the few pages devoted to this section of his subject without seeing how the pro-slavery spirit dictated the harshest features of the island penal code. True to the letter is his remark, that "to allow of the farming out of criminals to agriculture, under such circumstances, is really to hold out a premium to the multiplication of crimes and of convictions; to teach every shrewd planter or factor-justice to see in every stalwart 'nigger' who is brought before him so much plantation labour, which might be put to valuable use under judicious coercion, if once safely lodged in a penitentiary." He adds: "Nowhere can such a system be of more perilous introduction than in a country where Slavery has been abolished within the memory of every middle-aged man; where its spirit is not yet extinct, or is even reviving; where the class which makes, and to a great extent

applies the law creating such a system, is also the class to profit by it."

It is impossible, within the limits of a brief review such as our's must necessarily be, owing to the restricted space we have at command, to do full justice to Mr. Ludlow's important pamphlet. We are compelled to abbreviate our comments upon the section relating to immigration, which is treated by Mr. Ludlow in a masterly way, and shows that the development of its particular code reproduces most of the objectionable features presented by the criminal law. There are increased rigour in punishment; a constant enlargement of the powers of the local magistrates, who have an almost exclusive criminal jurisdiction in immigration matters; an extension of the term of indentureship; a reduction in the rate of the immigrant's wages; powers of interference with his personal liberty, as arbitrary as were common to the slave-codes of the Southern States, and in fact, features which constitute "the colonial immigration system one of temporary and mitigated Slavery."

While this civil legislation has gone on, scarcely any effort has been made to counteract the demoralizing influence incidental to the introduction of a heathen element into the community. The educational grants have diminished until they are now less than they were nineteen years ago, notwithstanding the influx of wholly uneducated immigrants and the increase in the population.

The section on the tariff shows how the duties and taxes have been increased upon almost all the articles consumed or used by the labouring population, while greatly favouring estate and plantation-owners. The Acts of the 28th Victoria have a chapter to themselves, and we find in them "every symptom of mis-legislation," previously remarked upon, "intensified." Mr. Ludlow truly says that "for the last twenty-five years the laws of Jamaica have been ever growing worse, and it remains for England to institute the most searching reform of these bad laws, and to promote the most searching reform of the bad social system which has grown up under them." We agree with him that such reforms can be carried out only by Englishmen free from the warping influence of colonial prejudice, of colonial class interests, and who are prepared to look to the benefit of the people of Jamaica at large, and not of that whitey-brown oligarchy which has usurped its rights and powers. We confess, however, to great fear lest the influence of this party should even now prevail. We must watch and wait. If the new Governor will resolutely grapple with this grave difficulty, his task, most difficult at first, will gra-

dually become easier, and he will not only renovate the colony, but earn a title to the gratitude of its community and of his country.

Jamaica Papers, No 5. Six Letters on Martial Law. By T. Harrison, Barrister-at-Law. Published by the Jamaica Committee, 65 Fleet Street, E.C., London. Price One Shilling.

THIS "Jamaica Paper" is the reprint, in pamphlet form, of the six admirable letters on martial law, which were originally published in the *Daily News*. We strongly recommend these letters, as presenting a complete reply to the objections which have been made to the action of the Jamaica Committee against Mr. Eyre, on the ground that he stands fully exonerated, by certain special Jamaica statutes, from all responsibility for the excesses committed under martial law there, and particularly for the assassination of George W. Gordon. Mr. Harrison demonstrates conclusively that no local statute can be construed to legalize any act which is condemned as illegal by the common law of England; and that acts held under the latter to constitute crimes amenable to penalties, are equally crimes and equally punishable wherever committed, within the jurisdiction of the Crown. We believe we were the first to assert this principle, and to declare it had been grossly violated in the case of the late G. W. Gordon, as also in numerous other instances. Mr. Harrison has judiciously confined his attention to the most salient points of the question of martial law, and we do not see how his arguments can be disposed of. He has rendered excellent service by these letters, and the Jamaica Committee are wise in publishing them in a collected form, for they do not merely shew the necessity of a judicial decision, but that it is attainable only by an indictment against Mr. Eyre for murder.

The Case of George William Gordon, with Preliminary Observations on the Jamaica Riot of October 11, 1865. By T. Williams, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. London: Butterworths, 7 Fleet Street. Price Two Shillings.

THIS is another of the many pamphlets which the judicial murder of George W. Gordon has caused to be written. This treatise is reprinted from the *Law Magazine* for the quarter ending 29th October last, and is an attempt—and a successful one—to show that "Mr. Eyre's conduct as Governor of Jamaica, and the justice or injustice of Gordon's execution, are questions that can only be solved by a judicial examination of the law and evidence that bear upon them." With judicial calmness

Mr. Williams first discusses the causes of the disturbances at Morant Bay, though we regret to find him giving currency to the statements made by Mr. Eyre and his party, that the negroes mutilated their victims; an assertion made at the time with a design, no doubt, to exasperate the public against the victims of martial law, but which has been proved in evidence to have had no foundation in truth.

We also lament that he should fall into self-contradictions as to the character of the riot, which in one place, (page 11,) he says, "though of considerable magnitude and danger, was not the result of any long-standing organization, and was local in its character and origin;" while in another, (page 58,) adverting to Gordon, he observes: "The agitation brought about by injustice and bad government, went beyond Gordon's control, and developed into a rebellion which had not his sanction, but which was clearly opposed to all his wishes and plans." If any fact was placed beyond a doubt by the Royal Commission, it was, that there existed no "conspiracy, no rebellion, no organization." Notwithstanding these blemishes, however, we have in Mr. Williams's summary of the case made out against Gordon, abundant confirmation of the grievous wrong done to that martyred patriot, and of the personal animosity of Mr. Eyre; and one cannot read his comments upon the trial—if such a mockery deserves the name—without coinciding in the opinion he expresses, that in this case "a great wrong" was "done, which is a blot upon the fair fame of English rule;" and that "there were irregularities in the evidence and procedure that violate the most valued principles and rules that prevail in our courts of law."

But the principal merit of Mr. Williams's essay is its acute criticism of Mr. Finlason's huge volume on *Martial Law*, written, as it would seem, to sustain the fiction, that when it prevails it is superior to all law, even in cases properly cognisable only by the civil authority. Mr. Williams successfully disposes of Mr. Finlason's positions, one after the other, asserting the opinion that the greater part of it was written before the author had read one word of the report of the Royal Commissioners. To appreciate the point of this remark, we must quote Mr. Finlason's opinion upon the innocence of Gordon, thus conveyed: "It is scarcely worth while to discuss this supposition, which is simply too monstrous to be entertained for a moment by any man of sense." The Commissioners nevertheless entertained and asserted this opinion, and they have the reputation of being men "of sense." Having examined the argu-

ments advanced in favour of martial law, and disproved them by the infallible test of constitutional principles, Mr. Williams, adverting to the doubt expressed whether the law of our colonies and that of Great Britain are identical in operation with respect to martial law, says: "It is time that the law of our colonies on this subject should be assimilated to that of the realm of England, and that the petition of right should be a safeguard to every subject of the Queen, of every colour, and in every clime." He also says of Mr. Eyre—and we heartily concur in this view—that he "was not a just Governor of Jamaica. If he had acted wisely and well, this rebellion" (read riot) "would never have taken place. He is not only answerable for the cruel excesses, and unnecessary duration of martial law, but is also answerable for the rebellion" (read riot) "itself. We have satisfaction in knowing that never again will he be permitted by the people of England to exercise authority in the name of their Queen."

We hope our readers will largely patronize Mr. Williams's pamphlet.

England and her Subject Races, with especial reference to Jamaica. By C. S. ROUNDALL, M.A., Secretary to the late Royal Commission in Jamaica. London: Macmillan and Co. Price Sixpence.

THE substance of this pamphlet formed the subject of a paper read by the author before the Social Science Congress, held at Manchester last year. The writer states, in his few prefatory remarks, that in "the course of the revision of the paper for publication, one or two paragraphs have been omitted, not from any change of opinion, but because they referred to passing events, not relevant to the objects with which the paper is now published." Whatever these objects may have been, we exceedingly regret that considerations of any kind should have influenced Mr. Roundall to omit those strong condemnations of the proceedings under martial-law in Jamaica, which, owing to his position as Secretary to the Royal Commission, gave to his utterances the importance which was attached to them. It is, nevertheless, something to receive the assurance that his sentiments have undergone no change. Mr. Roundall need never be ashamed of such language as the following:

"If I do not read the national verdict amiss, I read it in a record of burning indignation, and shame unutterable at the deeds of blood which, most unnecessarily, were perpetrated against an inferior race during the hell-like Saturnalia of martial law."

If by leaving such a passage, and others

similar, out of the reprint of his paper, the writer contemplated the possibility of their being forgotten, he made a miscalculation, for those memorable words have been reproduced in almost every newspaper in the West-India colonies, besides having a wide circulation at home, where they produced a legitimate effect. Mr. Roundall has the reputation of holding to the truth, and of a sturdy adherence to his opinions. The more cause of regret is it that his paper, in its present form, suggests the idea that influences have been brought to bear upon him, which have caused him to excise passages most valuable, as his personal testimony against the brutalities committed under martial law. If those paragraphs were out of place in the paper, as it now stands, they were equally so when it was read. They referred then, as now, to "passing events," and were equally relevant "to the objects with which the essay was read, and is now reprinted, for the primary purpose was to enlighten public opinion on an important question, and make known the writer's views of the Jamaica atrocities. Emasculated as it is, however, Mr. Roundall's pamphlet is valuable as a testimony against our colonial system, which, as a rule, is one of oppression and injustice to the "subject races." We do not concur in the favourable estimate he entertains of Lord Harris's views of what emancipation did. If "a society has not been formed," though "a race has been freed," the fault is not in the race, but in its rulers. Liberty was certainly "given to a heterogeneous mass of individuals;" but is it not calumnious to assert that "they can only comprehend license?" Is it not equally untrue to say that "a participation in the rights of civilized society has been granted to them," but "they are only capable of enjoying its vices." Our author says this is "well stated." Our own view is, that a larger amount of calumny against a "subject race" was never concentrated within a smaller compass, and to present this as a truthful picture, is to play into the hands of the very party responsible for whatever shortcomings may exist. Still less do we admit that "emancipation, in all but its object, was a sorry piece of legislation;" nor is it correct to state, that in the Dutch and French colonies "emancipation has been treated as a gradual process." It was immediate in these, not so in ours, for the apprenticeship intervened; and in so far as this latter measure was mixed up with the Abolition Act, the legislation was certainly "sorry" indeed. "The French and the Dutch profited by our mistake" in this direction, only by repudiating any term of apprenticeship; and this notwithstanding

the efforts of the half-and-half abolitionists to introduce so objectionable a system. "Immediate not gradual emancipation" is now the cry of the Porto-Rico emancipationists, and "immediate emancipation" also characterized the abolition movement in the United States, at a moment when, if such a measure as freeing men unjustly held in bondage would be dangerous, gradual emancipation might have been adopted.

We likewise differ from Mr. Roundell's view, that representative institutions are unsuitable to Jamaica. The abolition of the old form of government was the result of a conspiracy, and no more proved its unsuitableness to Jamaica than the *coup d'état* of 1852 proved that the representative system was unsuited to France. What in Jamaica was worthless was the representative element itself, not the elective. The people understood well enough their own wants and grievances, and, could they have sent a fair number of Gordons into the Assembly, the planter interest would not have had its own way, nor would the island legislation have been framed to subserve the views and prejudices of the dominant, though not the more numerous class. Mr. Eyre found he could not always impose his will upon the Assembly, constituted even as it was, and he hated Gordon because Gordon was the representative and the exponent of the opinions of a class which it was the purpose of Mr. Eyre and his party to keep in political as well as social subjection. It was fear of the intelligence of the masses which led to the enactments limiting the franchise, and imposing fines upon the right of suffrage. Admitting what Mr. Roundell alleges, that the "elective representative Assembly was, in fact, the conflict of the white and coloured races; an oligarchic tyranny veiled in a popular dress," the "conflict" did not originate with the "coloured races," nor was the "tyranny" theirs. The remedy, therefore, was not to abolish the Assembly, but to extend and liberate the franchise. The step taken by the Assembly, under coercion by Governor Eyre, wielding the terrors of martial-law, was one of retrogression, and no "despotism," however "paternal," can compensate for the injury inflicted on the principle of representative institutions by the suppression of the Jamaica Assembly.

We must also record our dissent from Mr. Roundell's eulogy of the Trinidad form of government with especial reference to that colony. The people, if they have prospered, have done so in spite of, and not because of, the form of their government. It is a planter rule, not a popular one. It has tended to substitute a kind of serfdom for freedom, and is obnoxious

to other very serious objections, but which we cannot dwell upon in this place. The scale of exports is no criterion of the prosperity of the masses, and we refuse to accept such a standard. It will be found that the rate of wages in Trinidad is lower than in any other colony, save, perhaps, Barbados, and that "paternal despotism" does less for the people—it may do more for the planters—than did the admittedly vicious representative system of Jamaica.

Valuable as is this paper of Mr. Roundell's, we are under the impression that it betokens the absence of a fixed standard of opinion on certain fundamental principles of government, where "subject races" are in question; and this is the more regrettable because the writer holds no wavering views of the "duty of England towards her subject races," and does not hesitate strongly to condemn her policy towards them up to the present time. If people are to work out their own elevation in the social scale, and to advance in civilization, they must be placed in full possession of the means. A child is not likely soon to walk that is forcibly held in leading-strings, and is taught to believe it dangerous to attempt to run alone; and communities are not likely soon to rise in political intelligence which are kept down by "paternal despotisms." Men must feel their manhood before they can assert it, but they will not feel it any the sooner if they are always treated like children. Pride of race and pride of caste are the predominant influences in our colonies, and these—not the inferiority or the unworthiness of the race governed—lie at the root of our oppressive rule. So far we coincide with Mr. Roundell, but our remedy would be directed to destroy these evil influences, by giving those affected by them the power to counteract them; and this is not to be done under a system of "paternal despotism."

Jamaica in 1866. A narrative of a tour through the Island, with remarks on its social, educational, and industrial condition. By Thomas Harvey and William Brewin. London: A. W. Bennett, 5 Bishopsgate Street Without. Price 1s. 6d.

THIS unpretending volume, compiled by the gentlemen whose names are mentioned in the title, is a valuable addition to the special Jamaica literature evoked into existence by the events of October 1865. They are both well-known and highly-respected members of the Society of Friends, and this is not the first benevolent mission on which they have been engaged. Thomas Harvey was the companion of the late Joseph Sturge in his tour through the West Indies in 1837, and William Brewin

has not long returned from an extended visit to British India. Both were, therefore, well qualified for the work before them, and well have they performed it. The first section of the volume is taken up with the details of their progress through the parishes, and their investigation into the requirements of the people, with incidental though necessarily brief narratives of "martial law" cases, all interesting and sadly painful. This portion also embraces a brief chapter on "the outbreak." The conclusions of the travellers are corroborative of the verdict of the Royal Commissioners, as to the *non-existence* of "a wide-spread conspiracy;" the Old Bogie which Mr. Eyre set up to frighten the planter clique with, and to create a revengeful feeling against the negro population; and the more importance is to be attached to the testimony of these worthy friends, that they arrived at their conviction upon evidence obtained by personal, independent, and, assuredly, conscientious investigation. They consider "the entire loss of confidence in the administration of justice as between employers and employed, and between the higher and lower classes, and the generally arbitrary, irritating, and excessively indiscreet conduct and bearing of the magistracy and other persons of authority," as the most active of the immediate causes of the outbreak.

We do not share the view that this "outbreak"—which implies previous organization for mischief—was pre-concerted to any extent whatever, and we have been informed—within the last few days—that the Clerk of the Peace advised Bogle and his friends to come down to the Court-house, not in the morning when the Court was sitting, but in the afternoon, and *lay their case and their grievances before the vestry.*

The narrators dispose of many exaggerations which disfigured the first reports of Mr. Eyre, and dwell upon the significant fact, that although ample time had elapsed between the writing and the sending off of the despatch, which contained the detailed account of alleged mutilations, no contradiction was ever given of the statement, which was left to produce its effect. The motive for this course is sufficiently obvious. Mr. Eyre's deliberate misrepresentation as to the area of the disturbed district is also exposed by a simple specification of its exact measurement; first contributed, we believe, by Mr. William Morgan, in his report to the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.* Mr. Eyre asserted that "the outbreak commenced at Morant Bay, in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and *rapidly spread through the contiguous parishes;*" whereas the entire district to which the

disturbances were confined, was "considerably within the boundaries of the single parish of this same St. Thomas-in-the-East."

The origin, also, of the much commented upon "eight miles of dead bodies" is shewn to have been in the island; a fact which has been often insisted upon on other occasions, but which the party in sympathy with Mr. Eyre and martial law advocates, have never had the candour to declare.

In like manner the narrators shew how grossly exaggerated were the outrages laid to the charge of the rioters by Governor Eyre, Colonel Fyfe, and others. We remember well the feeling created in England by the recital of "the bloody insurrection, attended with atrocities which disgrace humanity, and having for its object the complete massacre of the white and coloured races, to which almost every black person was by act or connivance an accessory;" a picture which had its origin in the lively but morbid imagination of Colonel Fyfe, but which became literally verified in the scenes of the suppression. Yet every allegation against the negroes received implicit credence, vouched for, as they were, by the Governor's information, while the scandalous and shameful brutalities of the armed forces, regular and irregular, were lauded as acts of "splendid service."

Messrs. Harvey and Brewin are content not to dwell upon these hideous scenes, believing that the disclosures which have resulted from the investigations of the Royal Commission render the task unnecessary. They do, however, emphatically designate the period of martial law in Jamaica as the "reign of terror," stating that they do not employ it "without substantial reasons." Such simple but strong testimony speaks volumes.

The great value of Messrs. Harvey and Brewin's narrative to most readers interested in Jamaica, will no doubt be their report upon the condition of the people. As might be expected, this was found to differ according to locality and surrounding circumstances. Their summing up, under the head of "General Observations," is concise and comprehensive. The least advance has been made in the "sugar parishes," but all intermediate gradations of condition and character are to be found between the extreme of degradation and the lowest type of intelligence to the highest. On the whole, however, their views are encouraging. They say: "If we take duly into account the state of moral and intellectual degradation in which as slaves, the labouring population were necessarily kept prior to 1834, we think the

candid inquirer will be convinced that an amount of improvement has taken place which calls for devout gratitude to God, who inclined the hearts of the British Government and people to effect that great measure of justice and mercy, the abolition of Slavery."

The suggestions for the general improvement of the community, and of the island generally, are very valuable, and include reform—especially in the administration of justice—which the new Governor is already introducing. No doubt is entertained by the writers that a large introduction of capital and a more economical employment of labour are of primary necessity, but they did not find labour wanting when fair wages were given and regularly paid: a conclusion also emphatically asserted by Mr. Roundell, as the result of his own investigations.

There is an Appendix to the book, which contains an admirable paper on the "Condition and Prospects of Jamaica," by a well-known hand, and which is "valuable and suggestive, as an exposition of statement and opinion by an honest and sagacious observer." There is also a sketch chart annexed to the title-page, by means of which the reader will be enabled easily to trace the course of the travellers.

In conclusion, we may express our regret at our inability to do full justice to this little book, owing to the great pressure upon our columns, and at the same time our opinion that it is well worthy of extensive circulation and attentive perusal.

The Autobiography of the Rev. E. Mathews.
London: Houlston and Wright. Price Four Shillings.

THE writer of this biography is the "Father Dickson" spoken of by Mrs. H. B. Stowe, in her anti-slavery novel, "Dred." It is prefaced by an introduction written by Mr. Handel Cossham, of Bristol, who speaks of Mr. Mathews as of a friend whom he has "long known and highly esteemed," and whose volume he "most cordially recommends to the attentive perusal of every lover of liberty and right on both sides of the Atlantic."

In this recommendation we can with equal cordiality unite. We, too, have known Mr. Mathews now for some nearly fourteen years, and have ever found him the uncompromising friend of the slave, bringing to his "labour of love" an earnestness of purpose and an amount of information which render him admirably suited for the lecturing field, and ensured him the sympathies of his auditors. Mr. Mathews has an additional and an exceptional claim to consideration. He has suffered in the anti-slavery cause, and may be held to rank

with the Garrisons, the Thompsons, and the Lovejoys of our time, whose fearless denunciations of the giant evil—Slavery—exposed them to the "hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness" of its supporters. In Kentucky he was assailed by a Lynch mob, for preaching the duty of abolishing Slavery, and was thrown ten times consecutively into a pond, ultimately saving his life by promising not to revisit Kentucky: a promise given less on account of his life, than because he felt there was anti-slavery work for him to do in the North. This was in 1851, in the summer of which year he returned to England, after an absence of nineteen years. We may here state that Mr. Mathews is descended from a family of this name, of Leckwith, near Cardiff, and is a blood relative of the great temperance apostle, Father Mathew, their great grand-sires being own brothers.

He commenced his anti-slavery labours in this country in September 1851, at the Broadmead Rooms, Bristol, Robert Charleston, Esq., in the chair, and a resolution of welcome and recognition of his sufferings and service in the anti-slavery cause was unanimously adopted. He was accredited as an agent of the *American Baptist Free Mission Society*, which in the United States took church action against the slaveholders. His labours in this country embraced more especially an exposition of the relation of the American churches and religious organizations towards Slavery, and were highly useful at a time when little or no disposition existed amongst the various denominations in Great Britain to refuse access to their platforms and pulpits, of representatives of pro-slavery churches and organizations from the other side of the Atlantic. By his lectures and writings, Mr. Mathews rendered incalculable service, and deserves well of every true abolitionist.

As a record of his own exertions, Mr. Mathew's autobiography is somewhat bold. But this is a merit, indicating as it does an amount of self-denial and modesty rare in these days of self-laudation and glorification. As a history of the anti-slavery struggle in the United States, it is very valuable and highly instructive, for it embraces references to all the prominent abolitionists there, and exhibits a graphic picture of their working lives in the cause of emancipation. The chapter on the Presidents is especially interesting, and furnishes an excellent idea of their relative anti-slavery proclivities. But the work is really overflowing with edifying matter, and being written in an easy, concise style, possesses the additional advantage of attractiveness. We sincerely hope it will have as wide a circulation as it deserves.

The Political Situation in the United States:

A Letter to the Union League Club of New York. By JOHN JAY, President of the Club. London: Rivingtons, Waterloo Place.

THIS Letter was written in June last, but not published in pamphlet form till October. Although addressed to the "Club," it will assist those who read it, to understand the gravity of the questions which have grown out of the slaveholders' great rebellion, and which remain for solution. The writer is very decidedly in favour of the extension of all civil rights and privileges to the freedmen, and considers that this measure alone will settle the South upon a sure basis. He mistrusts the "loyal Southern members," and considers that "were

they admitted to Congress in such numbers as to enable them, in conjunction with the Northern Democracy, again to control the Government, they would accomplish, in great part, the original object of the rebellion." A stronger condemnation of President Johnson's reconstruction policy could not well have been uttered.

Now Ready, 8vo, Limp Cloth, Price 1s. 6d.

JAMAICA IN 1866.

A NARRATIVE OF A TOUR THROUGH THE ISLAND, with Remarks on its Social, Educational, and Industrial Condition. By THOMAS HARVEY and WILLIAM BREWIN.

London: A. W. BENNETT, 5 Bishopsgate Street Without.

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